

## Message Text

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ACTION OES-02

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 IO-03 NSCE-00 NSC-05

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FM USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5323

INFO AEC GERMANTOWN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T IAEA VIENNA 10437

LIMDIS

EO 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: TECH, PARM, IAEA, UK

SUBJ: PNES: UK PROPOSAL FOR IAEA COMMITTEE

REF : LONDON 16270

1. EMB LONDON'S CONCLUSION PARA 6 REFTTEL IS CORRECT. WE HAVE NO COUNTER-PROPOSALS, AND HAD ASSUMED AGENCY'S PROPOSED PLAN OF ACTION SPOKE FOR ITSELF. WE BELIEVE THAT PLAN OF ACTION (OURTEL 10171) IS THE RIGHT APPROACH TO PEN QUESTION AS OF NOW, AND HOPE DEPT CAN CONVINCE HMG. IF CREATION OF A BOARD (OR TOTAL MEMBERSHIP) PNE COMMITTEE APPEARS NECESSARY IN FUTURE, NOTHING THAT IS PROPOSED TO BE DONE NOW WOULD BLOCK SUCH A LATER DECISION.

2. ACTIONS WHICH AGENCY INTENDS TO TAKE WERE WORKED OUT IN CLOSE AND QUIET CONSULTATION WITH US MISSION (WHICH TOOK SOME TIME), BUT THEY ARE THE AGENCY'S PROPOSALS. FYI: IF UK MISSION HAD NOT BEEN SO ABSORBED IN UNIDO WORK, IT COULD HAVE BEEN EQUALLY INVOLVED IN THE EXERCISE, WHICH IS A LOGICAL AGENCY RESPONSE TO UN RESOLUTION. WE HAVE TRIED TO KEEP JACKSON INFORMED, AND KNOW HE HAS WENT IN HASTY REPORTS, BUT THOMPSON SEEMS STILL TO LABOR UNDER THE MIS-IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE COMING UP WITH A COUNTER-PROPOSAL IN LIEU OF THE COMMITTEE IDEA. WHAT WE ARE INSTEAD SUGGESTING IS THAT PLANNED IAEA ACTION, WHICH WILL OCCUR IN ANY CASE, MAKES THE  
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COMMITTEE PROPOSAL CLEARLY PREMATURE, AND PROBABLY UNNECESSARY.

END FYI.

3. MISSION HAS ALWAYS HAD DOUBTS ABOUT THE IDEA OF CREATING A "POLITICAL" COMMITTEE OF IAEA MEMBER STATES TO STUDY THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF PENES. SOME OF THESE DOUBTS WERE CLEARLY EXPRESSED TO THOMSON IN SEPT BY AMBASSADOR TAPE AND MYSELF, AND IN SUBSEQUENT MESSAGES TO DEP. NO QUARREL WITH HIS OBJECTIVES - BUT RATHER WITH TACTICS. WE ARE CONCERNED WITH THOMSON'S IGNORANCE OF IAEA AND HOW IT OPERATES. WE FEEL THIS HAS LED HIM TO MISUNDERSTAND WHAT HAS BEEN SAID AND REPORTED TO HIM, AND TO FEEL THAT THE AGENCY OPERATES IN A UN-TYPE PATTERN, WHERE COMMITTEES COMPOSED OF COUNTRY REPS DO (OR TRY TO DO) THE WORK.

4. IAEA HAS A GOOD TRACT RECORD IN GETTING THINGS DONE QUIETLY THROUGH THE USE OF SMALLER EXPERT GROUPS, AND MINIMIZING DEBATE IN THE BOARD ON TECHNICAL SUBJECTS BY DIPLOMATIC GENERALISTS. THE USG (AND UK AS WELL, WHEN THEY ARE INTERESTED) HAS MADE ITS SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO AGENCY POLICIES AND PROGRAMS LARGELY THROUGH THE OPERATION OF SUCH EXPERT PANELS (NOW CATEGORIZED AS "TECHNICAL COMMITTEES" UNDER NEW AGENCY NOMENCLATURE, WHICH MAY ACCOUNT FOR SOME OF THE CONFUSION IN LONDON). WE THINK WE CAN EXERCISE MUCH BETTER CONTROL OVER THE WORK PRODUCT OF CONSULTANTS AND TECHNICAL COMMITTEES THAN THAT OF A POLITICAL GROUPING. COMMITTEE WOULD BE LIKELY PRODUCE OPEN CONFRONTATION BETWEEN PRO AND CON GROUPS, WITH SOVIETS PROVIDING AMPLE TECHNICAL MATERIAL FOR THE FORMER. THE BRITISH CAN PROVIDE LITTLE EXPERTISE ON PNE TECHNICAL EVALUATIONS IN ANY FORUM. THIS LEAVES THE U.S. IN THE UNCOMFORTABLE POSITION OF BEING THE ONLY POWER WITH THE TECHNICAL EXPERIENCE TO ENABLE IT PUBLICLY TO DEBATE SOVIET OR INDIAN ASSERTIONS RE THE UTILITY OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS, WITH THE INDIANS, ARGENTINES, BRAZILIANS, ET AL, FULLY EXPOSED TO THIS DOUBTFUL EDUCATIONAL PROCESS. IN SHORT, IF THE OBJECTIVE IS TO PRODUCE AND GAIN ACCEPTANCE OF SOMEWHERE BETWEEN A NEUTRAL AND A JAUNDICED VIEW OF PNES, THE COMMITTEE IS AN UNCERTAIN INSTRUMENT AT BEST, LARGELY BECAUSE IT IS POLITICAL IN NATURE.

5. RE PARA 5 REFTTEL, AGENCY IS CLEARLY NOT NEGLECTING "STUDIES" OF ALL ASPECTS OF PNES BY FOCUSING ONLY ON NPT ARTICLE V PROCEDURAL ASPECTS. THE STUDIES WILL BE UNDERTAKEN. AT SAME TIME,  
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AGENCY MUST SHOW SOME APPARENT PROGRESS IN READYING ITSELF TO BE THE INTERNATIONAL AGENCY WHICH CAN ESTABLISH "WITHIN ITS FRAMEWORK IN INTERNATIONAL SERVICE FOR NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES UNDER APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL" (UN RESOLUTION 2829). THIS REQUIRES SOME WORK ON THE NATURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT OR AGREEMENTS WHICH WOULD BE REQUIRED. THE UK CANNOT TURN THIS WORK OFF; THERE IS TOO MUCH INTEREST IN THE SUBJECT ON THE PART OF MANY AGENCY MEMBERS. PERHAPS THE USG NOW FINDS ITSELF

ONE OF THOSE INTERESTED STATES, GIVEN THE REQUIREMENT IN THE NEW UN RESOLUTION, PARA 5, RQUIRING A REPORTON THE MATTER TO THE MAY NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE. FYI: THE AGENCY INTENDS TO MOVE WITH DELIBERATE SPEED ON THE WORK ON THE PNE SERVICES AGREEMENTS, AND WILL BE AMENABLE TO FUTURE SUGGESTIONS ON OURPART WITH RESPECT TO THE TEMPO OF THE WORK. END FYI.

6. WE ALSO FEEL UK CONCERS RE DE-EMPHASIZING ARTICLE V ARE OVERDRAWN. WE KNOW OF NO NPT PARTIES EXCEPT POSSIBLY THAILAND WHO HAVE A CURRENT INTEREST IN SECURING PNE SERVICES, AND AGENCY PREPARATORY WORK ON SERVICES AGREEMENTS WOULD CLEARLY HAVE NO EFFECT ON THIS SITUATION. THE CRUNCH WOULD COME IF A NON-NPT STATE MEMBER OF THE AGENCY REQUESTED SOME PNE ENGINEERING WORK (SAY EGYPT) AND A SUPPLYING STATE SAID YES.OBVIOUSLY, THE AGENCY WOULD HAVE TO BE READY TO FULFILL ITS INTERMEDIARY AND OBSERVATION ROLE, THE ALTERNATIVE BEING TO FORCE THE REQUESTING STATE TO ADOPT THE INDIAN PROPOSITION THAT IT MUST DEVELOP ITS OWN PNE CAPABILITY.

7 QUESTIONOF HOW TO HANDLE PNE DELIBERATIONS HAS ASSUMED UNDUE PROPORTIONS IN MISSION'S VIEW. WE THINK UK HAS OVERLOOKED, OR PERHAPS BEEN UNAWARE OF, SOME IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS, AND HAD HOPED THOMSON WOULD BE VISITING WASHINGTON SOON FOR CONSULTATIONS, WHERE MATTER MIGHT BE SETTLED AMICABLY WITHOUT UNDUE OFFENCE TO HIS PRIDE OF AUTHORSHIP. IN ANY CASE, AND APPROPRIATELY, EKLUND IS BEGINNING TO PUT HIS PLAN OF ACTION INTO EFFECT, AS FIRST STEP ANNOUNCING CREATION OF PNE UNIT IN IAEA TO TAKE EFFECT JANUARY 16. HE IS DOING SO IN RESPONSE TO US SUGGESTIONS AND WITH FULL REGARD FOR US VIEWS ON THE PNE ISSUE. FYI: AS HE TOLD IKLE RECENTLY, HE HOLDS STRONGLY TO THE VIEW THAT FEASIBILITY AND UTILITY OF PNES ARE FAR FROM A PROVEN FACT, AND HE HAS NOTED THAT USG SEEMS TO HAVE REACHED SIMILAR CONCLUSION. END FYI. WE DO NOT FEEL THAT UK NEED WORRY ABOUT LEAVING PNE  
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MATTERS IN HIS HANDS FOR A WHILE. PORTER

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## Message Attributes

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